1: Nachtigall--152 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

• 197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

●197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

* /312 cont./

539 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearthstones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

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105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[161] [621] [177] [197] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the elements of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.

/317 cont./

105 In the Paez religion there is no cult priesthood with offerings
771 and prayer, just as there is also no cult or worship of numinous
756 beings. The Paez religion is a shamanism, the two forms of which are the evil sorcerer and the good shaman as doctor and helper against evil sorcery. As a religious phenomenon Paez shamanism is not as distinctive as the Siberian or the North American shamanism. Assistant spirits and the soul journey as shamanistic means are only rudimentary with the shamanistic "signs," the "thunder child," and the journeys of the shaman to the house of Thunder on the bottom of the lagoon; there is almost no ceremonial apparatus. Nevertheless, the activity of the good shaman in particular, as doctor and helper in sickness caused by magical practices, as well as his function as sociological crystallization point of the community, is entirely a shamanistic phenomenon.

105 Linguistically Paez belongs among the agglutinative languages,
[197] in which the form element is made up by affixes that characterize
[194] whole classes of words. In phonetics the series of palatals including all the consonants is striking, as well as the frequent occurrence of nasal vowels.

105 /318/ The linguistic classification of Paez is difficult. Since
114 the research of H. Beuchat and P. Rivet it has been regarded as
197 one of the Chibcha languages. This was not always the case. E. Castillo i Orosco emphasized in 1735 that in its grammatical structure Paez is very different from Chibcha (p. 63). It was C. Cuervo Marquez who first regarded Paez as a Chibcha language (p. 199). H. Pittier de Fábrega emphasized in 1907 that the relationship of Paez refers only to the rules of grammatical construction; the vocabulary is completely different (p. 341). Then in 1910 Beuchat and Rivet investigated all the North Andean languages in a work of large scope and then confirmed the distribution of the *Chibcha languages from Nicaragua to Ecuador*. According to this, the majority of the Colombian tribes spoke Chibcha (pp. 193-198). Up to now this classification has neither been examined in greater detail nor disproved by linguistics. This may be left to the philologists. Here there will only be a few remarks about the problem of the Chibcha languages in general and that of Paez as an

/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
● 197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat.
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

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P 105 197 /319 cont./ concluded that the classification of Paez as a Chibcha language cannot be regarded as definite. The grammatical agreements may just as well be remnants of an older, or superimpositions of a younger, population layer. In addition there is the fact that in the sometimes centuries-long struggles since the Conquista considerable shifting and intermingling of populations have taken place. It is possible that the tribes existing or surviving today are only scattered remains or groupings that have been made up from other tribes only after the Conquista.

C P 105 P [197] E [361] P C [241] [412] P C [323] P [325] P C [411] P C [771] Culturally the Paez have nothing at all in common with Chibcha culture. The Chibcha language group established by H. Beuchat and Paul Rivet is a linguistic concept, which, in an uninterrupted extension from Nicaragua to Ecuador, embraces completely different cultures! For example, the Chibcha settlements on the plateau of Bogotá are compact villages, whereas the Paez live on individual farms. The agriculture of the Chibcha, with the use of a wooden spade, is relatively advanced in comparison with the digging stick and burned-clearing cultivation of the Paez. Technically the manufacture of Chibcha ceramics is far above that of the Paez, and it is certain that the Paez did not do any gold work. Among the Paez the sling was the principal weapon; among the Chibcha, club and spear with the spear thrower. In the Chibcha religion we have a creator-god or a tribal mother with a pantheon of other gods, with offerings of gold and emeralds; we find hero-temples, holy places, and sacred kings, while among the Paez, only shamans.

C 105 P C 197 Thus we have a gaping division between the Chibcha language group and the Chibcha culture. Scientific terms, however, should be unequivocal and not designate different concepts with the same words. This is done correctly in Europe, for example, with /320/ the Indo-Germanic family of languages, the Dinaric race, or the band-ceramics culture.

The cultural concept of the Chibcha is the older one. In order not to identify and confuse the culture group with the language group which is completely different from it, the language group should have a different name, especially since it is not certain whether

C 105 /320 cont./ what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum. P 197 Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P 105 172 174 There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of

* G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

194	*epeuch*	is now	*peuš*,	old (applied to female only).
114	*isus*	" "	*sus*,	urine.
[192]	*atamp*	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *.rs* stands for *š*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mis-a*, it is not; *izhc* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — Word-formation

192 114 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's 114 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

192 197 174 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names. But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 124 [171] *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indicative of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguez*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1932; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[3] It is also possible to trace the acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[3] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orozco, 1878; and Castelvi, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1936; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

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distinct people. The present city of Pasto was founded in *Quillacinga* territory in the valley of Atris, which was occupied by several small groups: the *Isancales*, *Paguanes*, *Zacuampues*, *Chorros* (Velasco, 1841–44, 2:153), *Mocondino*, *Bejendino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guajansangua*, *Mocozonduqus*, *Guacuanquer*, and *Macazamata* (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). *Quillacinga* territory extended from the frontier of the *Pasto* on the west, i. e., the Guáitara River, eastward to the mountain ridges from which flow the Caquetá and Putumayo Rivers. Its northern and northeastern limits are the high páramo of the Letrero and the sources of the Cauca River. Recent investigations show that it extends south to the district of Puerres (Guerra, 1942). (See also Ortíz, this volume, p. 911.)

Popayanense.—North of the *Quillacinga* in the province of the *Popayanense*, which is well delimited by the Cauca River valley and by the first spurs of the Cordillera Oriental and Cordillera Central, were numerous peoples who had the same general culture, although some of the first historians differentiate them. These tribes, which may collectively be called *Popayanense*, perhaps included the *Puracé*. The many small groups so lacked political unity, however, that Cieza said "That there were no men among them who were feared," i. e., they lacked chiefs.

Coconuco, Moguex, and Páez.—In the hills and small valleys of the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Central were groups of distinctive and strongly organized people. The *Coconuco*, the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), and the *Páez* lived on the eastern slope of the Cordillera, and the *Guamza* (*Guamea*), *Malausa*, *Polindara*, *Palace*, *Tembio*, *Colaza*, *Zotara*, and *Guachicone* on the western slope of the Cordillera (Cieza, 1932, ch. 32). Linguistically and culturally,[7] these tribes were very homogeneous. There were three important subgroups: (1) the *Coconuco*, *Cotara* (*Zotara*), and *Colaza;* (2) the *Moguex* (*Guambía*), *Totoró*, and *Polindara;* (3) the *Páez*, with groups on both slopes of the Cordillera Central. (See also Lehmann, this volume, p. 969.)

Andaquí and neighboring tribes.—The *Andaquí* lived in the mountains from the source of the Magdalena River to near Timaná and south to the high ridges which form the watershed between the upper Magdalena River and the Fragua and upper Caquetá Rivers (Velasco in Ternaux Compans, 1840, pp. 167–68; Pérez, 1862). This zone contains the important archeological remains known as San Agustín (Arroyo, 1907). The territory of the *Yalcón* (*Cambi*) was between the headwaters of the Río de la Plata and the Magdalena River (Simón, 1882–92, vol. 4, Noticia cuarta, ch. iii). The *Timaná* were found by the conquistadors to the southeast of this region, between the Guarapas and Magdalena Rivers centering around Timaná (Velasco, in Ternaux Compans, 1840, 3:26). The *Páez* lived to the north of the

[7] Hijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2:188; Otero, 1938.

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Contemporary descriptions.—Albis (1934), describing a visit to the *Andaquí* in 1854; Bollaert (1860); Brisson (1899), good on the *Pasto*; Castellví (1934), on language groups; Castillo i Orosco (1878), on *Páez* language; Censo de la Población de la República de Colombia (1924); Cortés (1919), on the flora; Cuervo, M. C. (1920), on archeology and ethnology; Garganta Fabrega (1942), on coca; Douay (1900), on language; Jiménez (1936), on geography; Ortíz (1935), on the native communities of Jamondino and Males; Otero (1938), on the *Guanaca* and (1939) on languages in the Departamento del Cauca; Pérez (1862), on the geography of Cauca; Pittier de Fabrega (1907), on the *Páez;* Reclus (1893); Thrasher, (1860–61); and Triana (1907).

LANGUAGES

Ever since the chroniclers wrote of the Conquest, the problem of the native languages in this part of Colombia has been extremely complicated. One writer affirmed, "It is certain that there are more languages differing from another than there are leagues in the whole province" (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2: 179–82). According to the "Relación de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila," by Governor Andagoya, the Spaniards ascending the Cauca Valley found within 2 leagues east of Cali:

> There are other peoples with a different language from that of the *Lili*. In the ten leagues of the road toward Popayán there is another people of another language . . . toward the other cordillera of the mountains in the eastern part . . . the language of Popayán extends some ten leagues toward the south. And from the top of the mountains toward the valley of Timaná is another different language and ten leagues beyond [from Popayán] from one cordillera to the other there are other different languages all the way to Quito. [Cuervo, 1894, 2:113.]

But modern linguistic studies in this region have classified the languages spoken at the time of the Conquest as follows:

Chibchan family
- *Chibcha-Aruaco* group
  - *Aruaco* subgroup
    - *Andaquí* (Castellví, 1934)
- *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group
  - *Páez* subgroup
    - *Páez, Paniquitá, Quilla*
    - *Totoró, Polindara, Moguex* (*Guambia*), *Cocaunco*, and *Guanaca*
    - *Pijao, Pancha, Quimbaya, Panikgora**
- *Cochcan* (*Kamsá*) family
  - *Quillacinga* subgroup (Castellví)
- *Tucanoan* family
  - *Pasto* subgroup†

*Castellví, 1934; *Jijón y Caamaño*, 1938; and Otero, 1938.
†Rivet cited by Guerra. Jijón y Caamaño classifies the *Pasto* or *Cuaiquer* language in the *Talamanca-Barbacoa* group of the *Chibchan* family.

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P 197 ● Po [197]

All the region of Popayán and of the *Páez* in the Cordillera Central thus spoke closely related and very similar dialects which were often grouped. For example, the dialects of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón* were classed together. In the south, an area of the *Pasto* language extended to Ecuador. Between the *Pasto* and *Páez*, bordering also on the *Pijao*, the native peoples spoke *Quillacinga* and *Andaquí*.

Of all these languages, there survive today only *Páez*, which is spoken in Tierradentro, and its dialect, *Paniquitá*, on the western slope of the Cordillera Central in Toribío, Caldono, Jambaló, and in parts of Silvia and Totoró. *Moguex* and the related *Totoró* and *Polindara* are spoken in Silvia and in the regions of Totoró and Polindara, according to Otero. *Andaquí* is spoken by only a few scattered groups surviving in the lower region of the Caquetá River.

HISTORY

P 175 648

After Don Sebastián de Belalcázar founded the City of Quito, he sent Diego de Tapia on a voyage of exploration toward the north in 1535 (Otero d'Costa, 1935 a). This expedition discovered the new lands of the Cordillera as far as the large Quillacinga River, today the Carchi River. This river became the point of departure for important travels in the same year by Pedro de Añasco, and in 1536 by Belalcázar, who founded Cali and Popayán, both key points for future expeditions and discoveries. These were the first White contacts with the Andean tribes of southern Colombia. In 1538, Belalcázar undertook a second expedition from Quito, crossing the Cordillera through *Páez* territory and then passing among the *Pijao* Indians. Both tribes resisted him with their feeble arms. He continued toward the east until he met the expeditions of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman at Bogotá. With the foundation of outposts by Jiménez de Quesada in the lands called the New Kingdom of Granada, Añasco was sent back to found Timaná in the territory of the *Timaná* and *Yalcón*. This city was to be the base for communications between Perú, Quito, Popayán, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

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The *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*, after a few encounters with the Spanish soldiers, in which they always suffered bloody defeats because of the weakness of their weapons (arrows, lances, wooden swords, and sometimes slings) and because the Spaniards used horses and hunting dogs, began to surrender. The inhabitants of the Valley of Popayán, who were poor warriors, also ceased to struggle. These tribes had previously suffered the *Inca* invasion, which had extended north to the Angasmayo River, which washed their lands. But the *Páez*, *Moguex*, *Andaquí*, and *Pijao*, thanks to the rugged mountains in their territory and to their more bellicose character and better organization, presented a serious obstacle to the Spaniards' ideal route, which had been drawn

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600 Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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124 /167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of
128 the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the
[114] enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age,
[115] bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the lo-
● [197] cality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other
124 parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation,
128 which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It
601 refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueno /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kuĩ or wẽsak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

601 Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.